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ABSTRACT

Two adult educators offer their personal evaluations of nationwide needs for (and existing provision of) public affairs education, and each offers recommendations for improving university adult education on issues of national and international concern. Referring to the problem of a relatively uninformed public, Freedman calls for deeper, more meaningful programs for the minority with a serious and sustained interest in public areas, and greater cooperative planning by university extension agencies. Power suggests that universities should experiment vigorously with centrally prepared discussion materials, new cooperative relationships and program planning, as shown in the Great Decisions Program in Colorado, maximum use of present resources, and other means of reaching a wider range of the population. (ly)

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THE FEW AND THE MANY

Two Views on Public Affairs Education

LEONARD FREEDMAN
HILTON POWER

CENTER for the STUDY OF LIBERAL EDUCATION FOR ADULTS

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Two Views on Public Affairs Education

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PREFACE

Even the best informed and most responsible citizen often feels overwhelmed by constantly recurring crises in national and international affairs. The issues grow more complex, the crises more threatening, while the possibility of intelligent action seems ever more remote. The profusion of information and conflicting opinion provided by the mass media in their efforts to inform the public may often only contribute to the feeling of helplessness unless opportunity is presented for the systematic examination, study and discussion of issues which leads to understanding and responsible action.

Leonard Freedman and Hilton Power, though they vigorously disagree on how the university should pursue its task in public affairs education, would agree that American higher education has a heavy responsibility in this area. This responsibility derives from the fact that the knowledge and breadth of perspective needed to develop meaningful educational programs about these important national issues lie almost entirely in the faculties of our colleges and universities.

They would agree, too, that the efforts of university adult education to develop and sustain such programs has been miserably inadequate. Even Freedman, who feels that we should concentrate on a relatively small attentive audience, would not be satisfied with the low levels of participation in public affairs programs revealed by the recent National Opinion Research Center study of American adult education in Volunteers for Learning: A Study of the Educational Pursuits of American Adults, by John W. C. Johnstone (Chicago: NORC, 1963). Only four per cent of the participation in college and university adult education was in public affairs courses and programs. During a twelve-month period, less than one per cent of the adult public was engaged in any public affairs program either through an adult education agency or by self-directed, independent study. Of the estimated 1,080,000 adults involved, 190,000 were studying civil defense. Two hundred fifty thousand (250,000) were in courses on communism, some considerable part of which (I would guess) were spon-

sored by right wing political groups. It is apparent that we are not reaching all of the attentive and highly motivated audience for serious public affairs education.

The NORC data also reveal the important role of community organizations, government agencies, churches, and educational television in providing public affairs education. Together they far outweigh the entire formal educational system in the number of adults participating. I think it meaningful, too, that 23 per cent of all study programs in this area were planned, self-directed programs pursued by individuals independently of any adult education agency. This is an indication of the intense need many people feel to come to grips with issues of public policy through substantial study programs.

Ideally, university adult educators should have the resources both to provide deeper and more meaningful public affairs programs to the citizens who have a serious and sustained interest in the issues (as Freedman recommends) and to experiment vigorously with new methods for reaching a wider range of the populace (as Power suggests). Unhappily, there is little likelihood that enough time, money, and faculty services will be available to make this possible in many institutions. Thus in most programs some choice between the two approaches, so clearly examined in the following essays, will have to be made.

Each of the authors has demonstrated in his own professional work that excellent educational programs can be developed and sustained through the basic approach he recommends. Each speaks from a sober awareness of the many practical difficulties in public affairs programming, yet each makes constructive and imaginative recommendations for improving university adult education on issues of national and international concern.

Roger DeCrow
Clearinghouse Director
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PUBLIC OPINION AND ADULT EDUCATION

by

Leonard Freedman

We do not have today an adequate dialogue between government and the people on the great public issues of our time. I believe that through university programs of continuing education we can help develop this dialogue, and I shall suggest in this essay some ways in which this might be done.

One condition of success is that we not attempt too much. We cannot operate in flat defiance of the harsh facts concerning the quality of mass opinion. The available evidence suggests that most people do not understand what is happening to their world.

In the Survey Research Center's study, The American Voter, we are told that . . . "the teacher concerned with adult education, the member of the League of Women Voters engaged in civic education, the politician trying to drum up grass-roots support for a new campaign plank: These and others will testify that one of the greatest limitations on civic participation is imposed by sheer ignorance of the existence of major social and economic problems."[1]

The book concludes that we have "an electorate almost wholly without detailed information about decision-making in government—almost completely unable to judge the rationality of government actions."[2] According to this same study, in November of 1948, after a Presidential campaign in which the Taft-Hartley Act was fiercely disputed, a full third of the American public had never heard of Taft-Hartley, and another third had no opinion on the issue.

Have things improved since then? Not if we are to judge by a Gal-

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1. Angus Campbell, et al., The American Voter (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1960), p. 170.

2. Ibid., p. 534.

lup Poll in August, 1962, on the Kennedy Administration's medicare proposal. Of all of the year's domestic issues, the medicare plan was most widely publicized and debated. Yet, as late as August, 19% of those polled had not heard of it. Of the 81% who had heard of it, only 50% knew that the plan would be financed through Social Security. And a mere 11% knew that those covered by the plan would be only those who have reached the age of 65 and are covered by Social Security.

The same condition seems to apply in relation to international issues, according to Gabriel Almond in a study written in 1950. There he saw mass opinion as a series of alternating, amorphous moods, fluctuating between apathy and belligerence. It is true that by 1960 he saw some hopeful trends. "The American mass public has matured in the last decade, displaying both greater stability and responsibility."[3] But there was an important caveat. "This should not be construed to mean, however, that the public is well informed about foreign policy problems or has well-structured opinions about policies."[4]

We are confronted with the fact that less than a third of the American electorate have a reasonably clear understanding of key public issues, and probably no more than 10% have any substantial knowledge of at least some of those issues. The impact of this on the quality of our political life is clear. Political campaigns (and especially television debates) tend to become contests of personality and trivia. Many politicians are capable of a higher level of discourse, but they adapt their style and content to their assessment of what the majority can absorb. Perhaps they underestimate; but the examples we have quoted suggest they may not be far wrong.

What conclusions should be drawn from this? I suggest that there are three alternative approaches:

1) Leave the people out of it (except at election time). If, in fact, the majority are uninformed, then they are not in a position to make informed judgments.[5]

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3. Gabriel Almond, The American People and Foreign Policy (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1960), p. xxiv.

4. Ibid., pp. xxii-xxiii.

5. This does not undermine the case for universal suffrage; elections are concerned with expressions of values related to the broad direction of policy, and this can be voted on without much knowledge of

Thus, in the views of Walter Lippmann[6] and Hans Morgenthau,[7] governments in America have been excessively concerned with the views of an unqualified populace. They contend that successive administrations have been so obsessed by public opinion, so sensitive to the ephemeral moods of majorities, that they have failed to provide the purposive leadership which our times so desperately demand. Politicians look at the polls before they look at the problems. Programs are tested not for their merit, but for their image—how they will appear to the majority.

Lippmann's scathing analysis of the majority's capacity to judge public policy has been disputed and it has been suggested that on the great historic decisions the majority has not lagged behind the leadership, has even been ahead of government policy. Still, in the light of the evidence we have cited on the extent of misinformation about public issues it will not do to dismiss the Lippmann and Morgenthau views with sentimental statements about the inherent wisdom of the people. Wisdom is a scarce commodity even among the experts today. There is no reason to believe it is abundantly present in the populace at large.

Nonetheless, I cannot accept a formulation by which government would be concerned with public opinion only as elections approach, leaving the basic decisions the rest of the time to officials and the interest groups which besiege them. As I suggested at the outset there has to be a continuous dialogue between government and public. Without it democracy becomes a hopelessly threadbare concept.

The trouble is that whatever exists of a dialogue today tends to be cliché-ridden and petulant, lacking the insight and resonance which the scale of the issues demands. Unless we can find ways of giving it more substance, the prevailing discussion of public policy will serve to surround the great problems of our time with confusion rather than illumination.

Our next alternative, one which is widely held in adult education circles is:

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specific programs. The problems I am raising here relate to judgments on particular situations or programs.

6. The Public Philosophy (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1955).

7. The Purpose of American Politics (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1960).

2) Educate the mass of the people in public affairs. This would seem to be the appropriate answer, the response necessary for a democracy.

I favor it. But I do not believe that it can have a high priority for university continuing education.

In the first place, the task is already being undertaken on a very large scale by other agencies. No country in the world has ever provided as much schooling to its young as does the United States; and while that education is of uneven quality, it does not fail to put heavy emphasis on public issues.

Again, while the mass media fall considerably short of their educational responsibilities and opportunities, the public's almost incredible lack of information is not primarily the fault of the media. Even the most meager of local newspapers surely provided far more information on Taft-Hartley in 1948, and on medicare in 1962, than their readers were able to produce for the pollsters. Television coverage of international affairs is often superficial, but sometimes brilliant, and always sufficient to sustain a level of understanding far beyond what most viewers can demonstrate. The fact is that there is no shortage of well written and informative material on all questions of public policy. Anyone who makes the slightest effort to ascertain this will quickly find himself overwhelmed by the abundance of information and analysis eagerly awaiting his scrutiny. And much of this is easily accessible to all, not buried in obscure academic archives.

It is in the face of this vast effort in mass education by schools and colleges, by newspapers, television and radio, by publishers and libraries, that the large majority of the American people remain uninformed on the primary local, national, and international issues.

The unpleasant fact is that the assumptions of the eighteenth and nineteenth century reformers that universal suffrage and free public education would bring a universally enlightened citizenry have not been borne out. Yet, so attractive are these assumptions, that we refuse to modify them. Instead we tend to find special, even sinister, reasons for the fact that our expectations have been disappointed. Perhaps the problem is some social aberration which, if understood, could be cured. Perhaps a ruling clique is manipulating the people against its better judg-

ment. Or it might be that existing educational techniques are inadequate, so that the answer will be found in a methodological or technological break-through.

There may be something in each of these points, but they seem to me to be convenient alibis rather than convincing explanations. I do not pretend to have the full answer, but a number of possibilities come to mind.

First, the American political system makes it extremely difficult for the citizen to make sense of public policy questions. The governmental process is diffuse and labyrinthine; and the political parties tend to avoid or obfuscate issues.[8]

Second, there is the incessant proliferation of national and international problems; their massive complexity; the incredible pace at which they change. All of these make the problem of keeping abreast extremely disheartening.

Third, the oppressive character of some of the problems makes it deeply painful for most people to examine them closely. To the threat of the Bomb the most common response is the psychological mechanism of of "denial"—a necessary refusal to face up to the full extent of the danger.

Next, there is a feeling of remoteness from the centers of decision-making. There is a sense of alienation, of being cut off from the power to shape one's own destiny. In part, this is an almost inevitable consequence of life in a population of 180,000,000. In part, it comes from an intimidated awareness of great, bureaucratized concentrations of power in the hands of large economic units.

Finally, political issues must compete for attention with a tremendous array of activities. Some of these are puerile; the stupefying mediocrity of most of the popular television shows fully justifies the thunderings of critics. But a man ought not be accused of escapism if he cultivates his garden, or goes bowling. The arts, and the many non-political causes which are a part of community life, all have legitimate claims to our leisure time, and these would be harmed by a universal preoccupation with public affairs.

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8. On the other hand, the British governmental system has a marvelous simplicity and its two-party system is fairly clear-cut; yet the British electorate is little, if at all, better informed than the American.

For all of these reasons the majority have not mastered the arts of citizenship, and they seem unlikely to do so in the full Athenian sense. The prevailing levels of understanding fall far short of what is necessary, and certainly the gap is too wide to be bridged by the resources actually or potentially available to university extension agencies. To argue, therefore, that we must quickly find a way of involving vast numbers of people in our public affairs programs is to provide for ourselves an impossible goal and an undeserved sense of almost total failure.

Fortunately, it is not necessary for the health of our system that all, or even the majority of the electorate be deeply engaged in the workings of the system. In fact, it has been argued that if most people were actively involved in politics the system would collapse under the strain.

I do not advocate that we write off the majority as unimportant. But I am suggesting that our governmental processes can be maintained in adequate health for effective functioning, and that we can even salvage the essential elements of some traditional democratic values, if we undertake the third approach to this problem which is available to us.

3) Improve the education of the interested minority.

I believe that our educational efforts can be most effective if, instead of pursuing the unobtainable goal of mass enlightenment, we concentrate our efforts on a smaller number of people. While the Taft-Hartley and medicare examples quoted earlier indicated that the majority knew little or nothing about these issues, they also revealed that a significant minority knew a good deal about them.

Included in this minority are some who were informed on the particular issue in question because of a close involvement with one of the group interests directly affected. These group interests are, of course, key elements in our policy-making process, and are among the important shapers of opinion on the issues which affect them.

But of greater concern for our purposes are those individuals whose interest in the issues reaches beyond a special interest group affiliation. Our focus should be on those who have a broad interest in a considerable range of national and international issues. These are people who read, who think, who discuss. They knew about Taft-Hartley, and they know about medicare, arms control, the Common Market. They constitute what Gabriel Almond calls "the attentive public."

According to the best estimates that we have, they may constitute 10% of the electorate, almost certainly not more, and probably less.

They have considerable influence in our society. The very fact that they are better informed than most and often more articulate, tends to give them influence. Moreover, a high proportion of them hold leadership positions in occupational and community organizations.

But if they are informed, and if they are influential, why do they need us—except perhaps for a little polishing and reinforcement of what they already know? Is this not another case of devoting our educational resources to those who need it least?

Such questions, frequently raised by adult educators, are based upon a profound misreading of our audience. In the first place, few of those who qualify even for the attentive 10% are nearly as well informed on public issues as they need be to make sound judgments. Anyone who has visited a number of the discussion groups organized by universities for the attentive public must have found the experience in some ways encouraging, in other respects disheartening. There is encouragement to be drawn from the vitality of the discussions, the tolerance of conflicting opinions, and the eagerness with which many of the participants have pursued the reading. But all too often the conversation will not proceed far without excursions into irrelevance, compounded errors of fact, and unchallenged departures from the requirements of systematic analysis. I still contend that the discussion group idea is excellent and should be extended. But so far these programs are essentially introductory, an indispensable beginning. At their present level they reveal that the dialogue of our interested minority falls far short of what is necessary to a healthy political system.

As for the influence which, as I have suggested, the members of the attentive public exercise, they do not wield it with confidence or satisfaction. So indirect is this influence, in fact, that most of them are unaware of it.[9]

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9. It is indirect since its main impact is upon the views of other members of the public. Now, there is considerable evidence to show that the opinions of individuals are influenced not only by the mass media, but to a very large extent by people of their own acquaintance who hold well formed and articulated views on public issues. Thus the informed minority does have the capacity to shape the opinions of a number of other people—and these feed into the total body of public opinion. The problem

Here are to be found the people to whom the concept of alienation really does seen to apply; for they are overwhelmed, in James Reston's phrase, by "a feeling of intellectual loneliness and even of helplessness." Some are hypnotized by the horror of thermo-nuclear weapons, and refuse to admit the relevance of any other problem. Characteristically they are fascinated by "power elite" theories, or by Richard Rovere's more urbane talk about the "American Establishment." (If we are not ourselves at the centers of power, it may be comforting to believe that this is so because the system is unfairly stacked against us.)

Yet this is the only section of the population to which we can look to provide what our system of government so clearly requires—a sustained, coherent discourse on national and international issues in which a substantial number of people participate. By and large, this group is not yet properly equipped to undertake this discourse, and my contention here is precisely that the primary function of university public affairs programs is to educate the attentive minority for this task.

Is this preoccupation with the minority élitism? It would be embarrassing to admit this, for the word "élites," though widely used in academic studies, has a rather obnoxious sound on this side of the Atlantic.

I do not see how we can escape the onus entirely. Some extension programs are designed exclusively for people of established influence and prestige. They meet in the most impressive surroundings available. Enrollment is by invitation only. The fees are prohibitive for all but business, professional, and labor leaders.

Perhaps we have become self-important about programs of this type, and we may have been overly concerned about the status which they bring to our activities. Just the same, it would be incredibly obtuse of us not to utilize to the full the opportunities presented by the opinion leaders' seminar. If these people do, in fact, lead opinion, then the university has a clear responsibility to help educate them, and the ultimate impact of so doing may well be substantial.

Despite this, we should certainly not put primary emphasis on such programs. Our total audience must be broader than the top leadership

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is, of course, that on national and international issues each individual's impact on aggregate public opinion is bound to be too limited to be measurable.

group. Of course, even this broader audience is, by my own argument, a minority. And it happens to be a minority in which college-educated, middle-and upper-income people, are heavily represented.

Still with the exception of the few invitational seminars discussed above, extension programs on national and international affairs are customarily open to anybody who wants to come. Usually we do not impose educational or other prerequisites, and the fact that we tend to draw from a narrow stratum of the population must not obscure the fact that recruitment is essentially a self selective process. We ask only that people be prepared to make the effort without which understanding is not possible.

And the factor which leads most people to make the effort has nothing inherently to do with advantages of birth or wealth or power.[10] The key is not even an especially well developed sense of public conscience or responsibility, though it is customary to congratulate participants in our programs for their high dedication to painful but necessary duty. Duty it may be; but painful, for most of the participants, it is not. For they enjoy this kind of activity. They like to play with ideas. They are fascinated by politics and public issues, and they find in them an interesting and lively way of using their leisure.

So if this is an élite, the requirement for membership is solely the readiness to apply oneself to the study of public issues, and the pleasure in so doing. It is a highly civilized kind of pleasure; so far it appeals only to a minority. In time that minority will increase as more and more people acquire more and more education. In the meantime it is the function of university adult education to work with the 10 per cent or so which constitutes our maximum potential audience. I know of no public affairs program which has yet secured the active participation of anything close to 10 per cent of the adult population, so that the quantitative limit I am suggesting is actually a very generous one. Even with very much less than this we shall have far more than we can cope with effectively.

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10. Of course, socio-economic factors do, in considerable measure, define our audience. And I believe that, whenever resources are available, we should try to break through the socio-economic barrier which has kept so many able people away from our programs. We ought to have more labor people (we have a special program in the Liberal Arts for labor unions at UCLA); more Negroes; more Mexican-Americans, and so on. But we should be aiming not at the majority of these groups, but at the minority within each group who can readily be interested in our programs.

But it is not enough to delineate our audience. If we are to accomplish the purposes which I have described, we shall have to find some new approaches for extension public affairs programs. I suggest two lines of development:

(A) Within the attentive minority, we must cultivate specialized minorities, each with extensive knowledge of one or two major problems.

Characteristically adult education programs cover a great many subjects in an introductory and superficial manner. Most of our audience is driven by a desire to keep up with the innumerable problems facing the world—especially as they assume crisis proportions. And the crises proliferate. Each week new and desperate tensions appear in previously unheard of parts of the globe. Each poses immediate policy questions for our consideration.

Clearly universities do have a function in helping the public gain some insights into the causes of recurring world tensions. But we should not insist that everyone be informed on all public policy problems. It is precisely the attempt—the hopeless attempt—to keep abreast of the whole range of public issues that aggravates the sense of bewilderment, of incompetence in the face of ever more complicated events.

Our programs should therefore help people in two ways. First we ought to equip our audience with some basic tools of analysis which can be used in a variety of public policy contexts. This calls for a range of introductory courses of the kind already offered in a number of university continuing education programs.

Second, we should encourage people to specialize in one or two major problem areas and become really well acquainted with them. The fact is that even our attentive public, even those who have taken several of our introductory programs, tend to be poorly equipped to analyze public policy questions rigorously and in depth; and unfortunately anything less than this produces only the most fragmentary kind of understanding. So we should by now be producing sequences of programs. And we ought to be providing opportunities for a considerably more advanced level of work. For example, at UCLA we have just begun a one-year Advanced Seminar in International Studies, in which a small group of adults, selected from our general audience primarily on the basis of their level of preparation, is examining in depth

some of the problems of the newly developing nations.

Through such means, we can develop small numbers of people in our various communities who know a great deal about each particular issue; in time they may come to know more about it than anyone in the university except the specialists on that topic. If we can help people acquire this kind of competence in an area, we are thereby giving them a sense of accomplishment which can counter the pervasive sense of inadequacy they have when facing the complicated problems of our time.

(B) University extension agencies around the country must get together and plan some programs cooperatively. There are many excellent programs in public and world affairs, but their audience and effect are local. We shall not have much national impact until some of us agree to build part of our programming around one major public policy problem at a time. This could achieve the following purposes:

(i) It would facilitate the preparation of materials—television and radio series, books—which no single local agency could afford to develop, and it could secure the involvement of national authorities on the subject as program planners and participants.

(ii) It could confront government agencies, the mass media, and national organizations of various kinds with a concentration of educational resources which they could hardly afford to ignore. With respect to government in particular, we could reasonably expect to secure the involvement of public officials in various programs where we considered this appropriate. This would serve to increase the impact of the programs on public policy and promote the emergence of the national dialogue which we need so badly. I am not proposing that government officials should have to report in detail to such groups. I agree with Lippmann and Morgenthau, that they already spend too much time looking over their shoulders to see if we are with them. But it would be good for them to have to discuss their policies in sophisticated and fundamental terms with adult students who have engaged in an intensive examination of these policies.

Conversely, this would bring our audiences into contact with the power and organizational realities which go into the making of

decisions. Most of our programs deal with issues in a rather abstruse way; and while it is essential to explore basic value assumptions, it is also necessary to test those values against the realities of the context in which we live. And those realities are often intractable beyond anything revealed in our typical courses.

(iii) It could give participants the feeling that they are involved in programs which are national in scope, which clearly have importance, and to which decision-makers pay some attention.

As it happens, the case I am making here for national cooperation in our programming is not intended as an exhortation for action in some distant future. It is rationale for something which is already happening.

A number of adult educators have been thinking along these same lines for some time, and through the agency of the "University Council on Education for Public Responsibility" several extension agencies will be planning the kind of cooperative activities proposed here.

Suppose that we are successful in working out some cooperative programs. Suppose that each year we agree to focus on a major public issue, and are instrumental in arranging for television series, and books of readings, and the involvement of the leading authorities in the country. Suppose, too, that officials of government and the mass media can be interested in the idea, and work with us in carrying it out.

Will it make any difference? Can it really give us an invigorating, broadly based discourse on public issues? Is it likely that it will reduce the sense of alienation which impoverishes our society?

I realize that to answer these questions affirmatively is to run counter to the fashionable moods of the moment. The trend is to decry rationalism and to deny the viability of existing institutions as means of dealing with great issues. The theater tells us that life and man and politics are "absurd." Existentialists talk of "commitment"; but not to existing political systems, and not primarily through the use of reason.

Yet throughout this statement I have relied on a number of traditional assumptions. I have talked about our improving the existing poltical framework. I have urged that we encourage discussion of great issues between the public and government officials. And while I have indicated that the suppositions of the Enlightenment must be drastically modified, I have

still sought to hold on to the importance of reason for the enlightened minority.

These are, as I have said, unfashionable views, but they are the kind of assumptions which adult educators subscribe to, and I do not believe we should give them up very readily. Admittedly, it would be fatuous to be optimistic. The problems are too vast, the fragmentation of life too far gone, our political process too confused, the awareness of the Bomb too oppressive, to allow adult education alone to save society.

Nonetheless, there is a job to be done, and if we do our part of it with imagination and energy we may be able to get the mass media, business, labor, and the political parties to see their responsibilities more clearly. The University Council on EPR could be one of the most hopeful developments that adult education has seen in a long time. Working through institutions of this type we may be able to help transform public opinion from a vague registration of shifting moods into a selective and sophisticated expression of citizen participation in a national dialogue.

LET'S STOP TALKING ABOUT IT

by

Hilton Power

World affairs education has been traditional responsibility of universities for many years. Paradoxically, there is no convincing evidence that universities, through their extension divisions, are doing more now to meet the increased interest of adults in this field than ten years ago.

It is not necessary to argue why an improvement might have been expected, given the present state of our world. Of more direct concern is an examination of the present state of affairs and suggestions for improving the quality and quantity of world affairs education available for citizens in this next decade.

Factors Inhibiting University World Affairs Education

One could hazard a number of very obvious guesses as to the lack of improvement in the university's contribution to world affairs education for citizens. Who, for example, would deny the need for money, or the apparent lack of public support for worthy programs which are forced to languish before their full potential is realized? Despite these and other obvious explanations there are some reasons for failure which have ultimately been more pervasive and indicate the need for a whole re-examination of the problem if it is to be dealt with at a level consistent with its importance and seriousness.

Diffusion of Responsibility

In the literature, world affairs education is variously described and cuts across traditional disciplinary boundaries. It may be included under such broad headings as public affairs, or more narrowly defined as international relations.

This is one reason for the failure to develop adequate world affairs programs by universities. Within the university as a whole there are

blurred lines of responsibility for world affairs programs. History, economics, political science, and international relations departments make their contribution; frequently one department corners the market by some tacit and unofficial agreement. In some of the more imaginative and enterprising programs other disciplines may be involved from archeology, anthropology, psychology, classics, and military science. Unfortunately, despite the obvious advantages of inter-disciplinary cooperation, there is not, in most universities or their adult education divisions, any one prime source of responsibility. The several disciplines each pursue their own private ends. Frequently programs which may be legitimately classified as world affairs become weighted in one direction or another, because of the energy and purposefulness of one personality, or one department that senses the responsibility to the larger community. The element of chance in this kind of individual initiative is not an adequate basis for institutional programming.

For another cause of failure we must turn to the adult education division itself. University adult education rarely has the right or the opportunity to plan in any specific field without the active cooperation of internal departments and so develops its offerings in response to actual and discrete demand. When broad programming is a necessity, adult education may be severly handicapped because of its inability to command and organize the total educational, administrative, and service resources of the institution required for an adequate performance. Adult education divisions are often reduced to a piecemeal program more reminiscent of a smorgasbord than most administrators would want to admit.

Adherence to Scholarly Level

There is another perennial barrier to be surmounted in the emphasis and stress placed upon the academic level and content of programs. Level and content are not inflexible standards. Many university disciplines have changed their standards to meet changes in the disciplines. When new areas of knowledge have developed and split off from their antecedents the question of level and content, though of ultimate importance, is often gradually adjusted rather than deriving from some predetermined or fixed point of academic lore. It is also true that the more sophisticated administrator will use other criteria if level and content for a particular course or program falls short of the accepted standards of his institution.

This new criterion is the "leadership" concept. If the program is de-

signed for a "leadership group" (a term synonymous with elite, superior, etc.) this guarantees some leeway in adult education's procrustean bed.

The Statistical Trap: A Cause of Failure

The factors mentioned so far have had their subtle and almost fatal influence on university programs, or lack of programs, of world affairs education. They have not been the sole cause of failure. At least one more deserves examination because of its importance in this dismal catalogue. This is the role of research and its influence on the practitioner of adult education. Over a number of years there has been a gradual accumulation of work by social scientists examining the nature and behavior of individuals, qua individuals, as well as members of voluntary organizations in the formation and influence of opinion. The most useful summary of these findings as they may be applied to this problem is to be found in the series of Studies in Citizen Participation in International Relations published by the World Peace Foundation.

This valuable work seems not to have penetrated deeply into the world of university adult education or at least the findings have not been reflected in objectives or programs. Despite the research already done there is little evidence of its application by universities in their efforts to reach effectively the adult constituency beyond the campus. Where it has been read there has appeared the disease commonly called the "fallacy of the one per cent."[1]

The introduction to Hero's work[2] says:

> Readers should not be surprised that the fund of research findings focused directly on these questions is rather scanty. A series of reviews which restricted its attention to such findings would be of very limited scope. Therefore, several of the reviewers have attempted to interpret some studies which consider international behavior only indirectly or peripherally and even some investigations which are concerned with aspects of thought and action of no patent connection with international affairs, if they tend to validate theory which seems applicable to that field. Thus, many of the generalizations in these reviews are of a tentative nature, pending further research and practical experience in world affairs communication to validate them.

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1. William C. Rogers, "Extension Activities in World Affairs," NUEA Spectator, Vol. XXVII, No. 5 (June, July, 1962), p. 17.

2. Alfred O. Hero, Studies in Citizen Participation in International Relations: Americans in World Affairs. Vol. 1 (Boston, Massachusetts: World Peace Foundation, 1959), p. ii.

This is an adequate warning to the reader. The main ideas which emerge from the studies and affect the practitioner in world affairs education have to do with the approximate size of audiences and the level of commitment and sophistication to be expected from them.

In the first place, the neo-isolationists or ultra-patriotic are obviously a minority and represent not more than ten per cent of American adults. Very small minorities, around one per cent, approach the four criteria of interest, information, realistic analysis, and action which the study considers as identifying the attentive minority.

There is a larger number of people who display significant interest in international affairs but lack a broad and undistorted knowledge of the field. Many of these are not particularly logical, analytical, or responsible in their approach to international questions, and their views often lack realism.

The study reviews the characteristics of personality, status, income, age, etc., which might help the world affairs educator identify his audience more efficiently. Naturally, education is one of the most crucial criteria. The more years of education, the more likely the individual approaches the ideal representing a high score on the four criteria.

Finally, the penultimate paragraph of the monograph says:

> All these tendencies have accelerated in the last generation, and the indications are that they probably will continue. It seems fair to assume that world-affairs educators cannot do much more than make use of these trends, guiding opinion wherever feasible toward more realistic international thought and action. It appears utopian to believe that the majority, or even a large minority, of Americans can be motivated to approach very closely our four criteria within the next twenty years. However, the current one percent which now devotes some responsible attention to international affairs, has substantial information, and is ready to take whatever action status permits, may be multiplied several times by 1979. The majority of most demographic groups could be encouraged to approach our ideal somewhat more than they do today. Neo-isolationist minorities may be reduced to a very small proportion of the population.3

The value of Hero's work is that it brings together the research of social scientists up to about 1955, and indicates the avenues still to be explored in depth. Unfortunately, it first mentioned the idea of "one per cent" or at least gave it further currency.

This fallacy rests upon the idea that the university should be concerned

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3. Ibid., p. 112.

only, or mainly, with the interested and informed one per cent of our adult citizens.

Houle and Nelson[4] devoted a whole book to the idea that there were legitimate activities which a university should undertake to broaden the world affairs understanding of a much larger segment of the population.

Unfortunately, the one per cent idea happens to fit snugly into the leadership theory referred to earlier. The arguments for this idea are based upon the universities' important, indirect role in educating the public. It is the task, so this argument runs, of the university to teach the people who will educate the public. The public is "taught" by editors, radio and television commentators, magazine writers, writers of popular books, public school teachers, lecturers, clergymen, public officials, and community leaders. Most of these are college educated. If the college has done its work well, they will do a good job of educating the public. This is an atypical group in the population identifiable by certain social, educational, and economic criteria which is influential at the opinion making level and represents something like one per cent of the adult community. World affairs programs should be aimed at this elite and may justifiably be allowed to try to reach a further group of people, some four to five per cent, who are called potentially able. This is the prime and sole target for the university with its limited and precious resources.

At this point it becomes clear that citizen education in world affairs tends to be beamed at an audience, an elite of not more than one per cent and that the goal is to broaden this group's experience, knowledge and influence, because within its ranks are an even smaller group—those who actually have influence on policy. Any program of world affairs education dominated by this one per cent fallacy may not be doomed to failure within its own framework, but is certainly not going to achieve what I think should be the priority of all university education—to provide greater opportunities for those capable of benefiting from its teaching and its rich and varied resources.

One might also challenge the one per cent theory by asking whether it is theoretically defensible to ignore the larger group of adults who have had a college education, currently estimated at 13-1/2 million. If

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4. Cyril O. Houle and Charles A. Nelson, The University, The Citizen and World Affairs (Washington: American Council on Education, 1956).

our educational and political structure is to rest upon theories of elites, then it is our duty to enlarge the particular elite and to promote upward mobility between those who are on the fringes and at several steps removed. A. Whitney Griswold in a recent article[5] says:

> At the same time the grass roots need tending. The American electorate has hardly begun to acquire the knowledge of its foreign affairs that should go with its responsibilities. . . .

This, surely, is the real problem world affairs education should be directed towards, not just the enrichment of miniscule proportions of the population which, by our present knowledge of its habits, is self-educating, well-read, and relatively able. There is the ability and potential interest in this field to go beyond such a small sample of the adult population. If we accept the one per cent limitation, then we shall only perpetuate the present state of affairs where too few are concerned. Probably the most prestigious and continuing programs are devised for this group of adults and form the backbone of most of what is offered in world affairs education by extension.

Hero's studies also tend to support the view that the one per cent are all well grounded in the field, able to keep up to date, and so are not really candidates for adult education programs.

The Role of the University in World Affairs Education of Adults

Two recent reports[6] by foundations have examined the broad question of the performance of colleges and universities in world or international affairs. Though concerned mainly with the broadest survey of foreign students and contracts, undergraduate and graduate training in the area, each touches upon extension's task in relation to the citizen. They grapple only superficially with the policy decisions which must be made by extension and from each one can find words of comfort or arguments to support almost any decision from do-nothing to do-a-lot. Starting with the present and endeavoring to chart a course for the future in relation to a number of thorny questions, they suggest what extension should be

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5. "Wormwood and Gall," Foreign Affairs Quarterly, Vol. 31, No. 1 (October, 1960).

6. Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, The College and University in International Affairs, 1960. Ford Foundation, The University and World Affairs, 1960.

thinking about, planning, and programming.

Each report agrees that a college or university, public or private, "must stick to its last" and cannot hope to be all things to all men. Apart from this general agreement upon the role of the institution of higher learning, the specifics relating to extension must be translated into concrete recommendations.

In The College and University in International Affairs it is admitted that university adult education reaches substantial numbers of adults, but the report adds that they (universities and extension) are not well equipped to conduct broad programs of public education. There is no examination of the question: should they be better equipped? Nor is there any hint as to what is a broad program. For example, could "substantial" be equated with "broad"? According to Morton,[7] in 1953 there were 140,000 adults, mainly in credit programs, covered by classes, correspondence, and conferences involved in public affairs education. This proximate figure is hardly likely to threaten to become a broad or substantial program even if multiplied by ten.

When the report moves on to the indirect role of the university in educating the public it is not clear whether this refers to university adult education or regular undergraduate and graduate programs. The argument advanced is that the university has educated those who teach the public, i.e., mass media commentators and writers, popular writers, school teachers, lecturers, clergymen, public officials and community leaders.

One cannot help observing that our present teachers were trained and are being trained by institutions that offer courses which "make quite a splash in the college catalogue but no splash at all in the lives of most students."

It will take time for the more adequate training of specialists and the average undergraduate to begin to leaven the dough of public inadequacy.

Another observation prompted by the enumeration of the public's teachers is the manner in which adult education may choose to identify community leaders. There is scope here to maintain a continuous program for community leaders which would, using the one per cent rule of "elite"

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7. John R. Morton, University Extension in the United States (Birmingham, Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1953).

advocates, mean a reservoir of more than 1 and 1/5 million potential participants.

Although the role of adult education is inadequately explored, the report concludes that, "A University's responsibilities are defined by . . . the broadest conception of the needs of society at large and mankind generally."

A careful reading of the Ford report, The University and World Affairs, indicates a more generous latitude for extension, again without being specific. Perhaps the best hint of what is appropriate comes from the following: "In universities where there are continuing education programs, these should take adequate account of the fact that world affairs have become of decisive importance to all citizens." This second report acknowledges certain political realities especially as they impinge upon state universities which have a concept of service to society and now equate society with something broader than their tax boundaries or the nation. The report, therefore, says "Widespread citizen understanding and support of the role of the university in world affairs are indispensable. Continuing education programs can be an important means of achieving them."

If these two reports are read critically for what is implicit, it then becomes clearer that extension is not only justified in placing considerable emphasis on world affairs education, but should also give it a high priority. This recognition of the urgency of the task is reaffirmed in two thoughtfully prepared papers on the future of university extension published by the National University Extension Association[8] and the Division of General Extension of the American Association of Land-Grant Colleges and State Universities.[9] Both of these documents call for greatly increased programs of citizenship education for civic literacy and public responsibility; education for international cooperation is also assigned priority.

There is agreement on the necessity for all or most undergraduates to have an adequate acquaintance with world affairs if only because they

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8. National University Extension Association, Report of the Policy Statement Committee 1961.

9. American Association of Land-Grant Colleges and State Universities, Division of General Extension, Today's Critical Needs and University Extension, 1961.

ultimately become, as university graduates, the public's teachers. The present situation is characterized by the fact that there has been a complete lack of training available to deal with the rapid and changing task. The level to be aimed at, in what is a crash program, for adults, by universities, could be met by specially prepared study materials, similar to correspondence courses for the person who has been to college or has attained, without a college education, the status of a community leader.

This lack of suitable adult learning materials was singled out as a major problem by Ralph W. Tyler in his Evaluation of General Extension Work by Land-Grant Institutions. He also made a plea for cooperation in the preparation and use of these new materials.

One sees clearly a repetition of adult education's important function, making up for past deficiencies in the system of higher education and those revealed to its products by the rapid changes of knowledge and needs in recent years.

University adult education's responsibilities in public affairs education become clearer. There is a large group of adults with the educational background and ability to become community leaders, but who lack the particular knowledge, training, or previous concern. Even the most conservative estimates of the size of this group when matched with extension's present efforts shows that classes, lectures, correspondence and conferences are not reaching anything like one-tenth of the potential audience.

It is also clear that using adult educators' present methods to give this group an acquaintance with the subject matter at a level similar to that required for freshmen and sophomores suggests two alternative solutions.

More teachers, faculty resources, even lay leaders using the traditional methods plus an intelligent development of television. It doesn't require much knowledge of the specific situation which confronts any state university to realize that at present this would be an inadequate response.

The second alternative is for the institution as a whole to examine how, with its present resources, new educational methods may be developed to reach the large numbers of adults who should and must be helped to a broader and better understanding of public affairs.

New Methods of Public Affairs Education for a Broader Audience

Implicit in this exploratory approach to a broader audience for public affairs education is the creation of suitable educational materials to replace the teacher and a deliberate search for new methods suited to the needs of this larger group.

The Role of Centrally Prepared Discussion Materials

Immediately there springs to mind the still unresolved question of the value and place of study discussion in university adult education programs. There has been considerable discussion, some interesting research by the Fund for Adult Education, and eloquent arguments pro and con, but the burden of proof still seems to lie with its proponents.

The fundamental argument against study discussion materials is that a university has a responsibility for any and all teaching or programs it uses. These should measure up to the standards of the institution and originate in the sponsoring institution. Judging standards is obviously the prerogative of the institution, but difficulties or shortcomings in specific programs can usually be corrected. It is conceivable that materials can be prepared which will meet any predetermined standard required.

Some universities have the policy that nothing may be taught except by the institution-approved teachers, or if study materials are to be used, they must also be prepared by the institution's approved teachers. There is here a strong hint of monopoly practice unworthy of a university unless it is able and does in fact meet the need which existing materials are designed for. No university claims that a student's education is derived solely from its teachers. It is also possible to argue that teaching is often by unlicensed amateurs who, when finally licensed by achieving their doctorates, are still no better as teachers.

The obverse of this coin is the incontrovertible fact that universities or their adult education divisions have been conspicuous by their failure to plan, commission, and produce suitable educational materials capable of meeting the requirements and the needs of adults in the area of public affairs education. Where this has been done in Pennsylvania and California, with excellent results, there has been the incentive or the obligation of foundation grants which were contingent on local production of study

materials. These are costly educational efforts and have so far been sustained in part by foundation subventions, but there is no reason why national production for national use sponsored by universities need be beyond existing budgets.

Whichever way one looks at this, there is an element of educational ostrichism when a patent lack of suitable materials is evident and those who have some responsibility avoid any effort to solve the question, and justify their inaction by this argument.

Whether universities should accept responsibility for preparing their own materials may be doubted on other grounds. There are commonplace but persuasive arguments for their not doing so except when there is a clear and definite lack of readily available alternatives. It is hard to brush aside the advantages of centralized preparation which rest upon the economies of specialization, reduced costs of production on large runs, certainty of delivery, quality control and foremost, the reduction of pressure on an institution's already heavily committed faculty time.

To prepare and present an adequate program with this purpose requires putting to one side traditional teaching methods if sufficiently large audiences are to be reached. There is no more appropriate institution than the university to accept this task and develop new educational methods with suitable content in an endeavor to solve this problem posed by our present national needs.

Exploring the Needs of a Wider Audience

Three central tasks of higher education are the preservation, creation, and transmission of knowledge. Arising out of this trio is the concept of service to society. Service to society should be viewed, in part at least, as the experimental design and tooling up process where the university explores and defines a problem, then insofar as it is relevant to society, designs effective ways of feeding the academic results into the mainstream of the community wherever they may be most needed.

As part of the service to society notion, the next step in this process is the conscious and deliberate choice as to the ultimate or continuing university concern for the particular subject. Is this something a university must always be concerned about—is it university level? Is this something a university is concerned about because no other part of the educational system has had the wit to identify and deal with its own appropriate educa-

tional functions?

If it is the latter, then the university has a distinct and unique role. It may legitimately develop programs with the sole purpose of demonstrating the need, the level, the area of concern in such a manner that the appropriate educational agencies can adapt and ultimately assume total responsibility.'

One can see this well illustrated by university interest in driver training, and the changes wrought in educational aids because of university experiments with television teaching, learning machines, language labs, and elementary classroom teaching techniques. However, there has been little attempt to decide what is the basic educational attainment required by a mature adult if he is to take the same interest in international affairs as he would in some minor he acquired by accident in college. Somehow we know how much and what kind of information a third grader or a junior in college needs to succeed in his Spanish course. All we know about international affairs education is that 90% haven't any useful background with which to interpret the day-to-day happenings in the world.

This argument may not be completely persuasive to some adult education leaders conscious of the pressures of maintaining university level programs entirely from campus teaching resourses. Again this underlines the need for an imaginative approach from universities to this and other matters of education in the area of public policy.

Some universities have accepted the challenge and it is significant that in the broader area of public affairs education cooperative extension has shown a willingness to experiment, considerable capability and the determination to move boldly. Examples of this are Iowa State, Arkansas, Cornell and Montana State to name several of the most successful.[10] This may be considered an appropriate field of adult education for which cooperative extension is best fitted. If this view prevails, general extension's reputation will suffer as will its claim to represent the whole university.

The present state of development and the future direction of American society, economically, socially, and educationally must be to wipe

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10. New Areas of Land Grant Extension Education. A report prepared by the center for Agricultural and Economic Adjustment (Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University).

out significant areas of ignorance or incapacity which bear upon the commonweal. Universities must and do play a vital part in this attack. This whole paper is based upon the idea that the frontier is shifting, and that institutions of higher education are indispensable if the movement is to be accomplished with dispatch.

The university by its nature is reluctant to depart from traditional teaching methods for its own students. University adult education has also relied heavily on methods appropriate to the young, full-time student which, with minor variations, have been used for adult classes. The major block to programs for extension as it is for the internal teaching department is that budgets and human resources are limited and scarce. There are not enough faculty or trained and approved part-time teachers to deal with the present student body whether on or off campus. Existing methods, lectures, seminars, and tutorials may be sufficient when dealing with homogeneous groups. If a larger adult audience must be reached new educational methods have to be devised. One of the significant changes in university adult education has been the increased use of study discussion materials as pioneered by the FAE. Even this and similar programs find their expansion blocked by the lack of trained leaders. Carefully prepared content can be so structured for those with the intellectual capacity of college graduates that it is possible in many cases to dispense with even the trained discussion leader. This is one area where profitable results might accrue from careful experiment.

Basically, if the real point at issue is to be met (more people in world affairs education) then the university is the logical place to find new solutions with its wealth of intellectual resources. Once this has been done, then other educational agencies can assume more day-to-day responsibility for this type of mass program.

Experiments in Cooperative Programming

In the last six years a number of universities have joined in an experiment in "mass" education for world affairs. (Mass education could at this stage be defined, humbly, as turning the hundreds reached at present into thousands.) Their experience has been uniformly successful or so it may be judged by the fact that the number of universities involved has grown and none have withdrawn their support.

The uniqueness of their experience rests on two facts. One has been

the apparent ease with which people in every sizeable and many small communities have been involved in the program. In Oregon, Colorado, and Wyoming there have been groups in each county in the state. This despite the prognostications of those who have considered such widespread involvement unlikely or impossible, and certainly undesirable.

The other significant fact has been the extent to which all the resources of the university have been used. General and cooperative extension services have worked in close cooperation; the campus faculty contributed to statewide educational radio and television programs; the resources of the news service have combined with hundreds of voluntary organizations to produce an eight week program involving thousands of adult and high school participants using self-administered study discussion materials with a high degree of effective participation.

The Foreign Policy Association's "Great Decisions" program has been the focus around which these achievements have centered. The educational materials consist of eight study discussion units each dealing with a major foreign policy question. Each topic is dealt with in terms of background, major points of view of both the country or area concerned and the variety of views advanced in this country. An attempt is made to present a number and variety of alternative solutions which are the basis for discussion by the group.

Each study material set contains a bibliography, tips for discussion, and a ballot to help the participant crystallize his own views on what should be the best course of action to pursue.

There are three features which distinguish this study discussion program from others available. In the first place the program is intended to be self-administering and does not require a trained discussion leader. By its design and the manner of presentation, a number of points of view are presented. This helps to ensure that the group does not neglect significant arguments related to the issue. Finally, the study material represents a pooling of scholarly resources frequently beyond the range normally available to a single teacher when called upon to treat the same issues in a more formal teaching situation. As a result, new educational techniques have been tested while new and valuable cooperative relations within and between state institutions of higher learning have been created and cemented.

A brief account of what was accomplished in Colorado will illustrate this.

The Great Decisions Program in Colorado

In Colorado more than 6,000 study discussion programs were sold and on the basis of last year's evaluation of participation this means between 12,000 and 15,000 people taking part in 1,200 to 1,500 self-administered, study discussion groups.

The university had nearly 200 local and state organizations cooperate in setting up the program. Some of the most effective of these were: PTA, AAUW, League of Women Voters, Council of Churches, United Church Women and Council of Government Employees. PTA county sponsorship led to active involvement of nearly 100 units. PTA alone was responsible for nearly another 100 groups in Denver. Colorado College, Air Force Academy, Mesa, Trinidad and Pueblo Junior Colleges joined with the University of Colorado and Colorado State University in a coordinated statewide effort to promote the program.

The University News Service provided stories and background articles for 30 daily and weekly newspapers over a twelve week period and the Denver Post gave the program its full support even to the extent of a full page advertisement at the opening of the program.

The extension division's radio and TV department prepared tapes for radio covering each of the eight topics and supplied them to all stations in the state as well as to stations in Wyoming and Montana. The department also produced nine half hour TV programs which were carried by three stations each week. The selection of resource people was not restricted to the University of Colorado's own faculty but was drawn from a list of experts in the state recommended by a committee headed by the Dean of the Graduate School. This, despite his very busy schedule, was in part a reflection of the deep interest this effort found in the offices of the president and vice president.

This is the part of the iceberg which floats above the surface and can be measured by some means or another. The program served other equally important objectives which should be listed. These are the submerged part—harder to measure, not readily visible, but more important as an indication of the value of the program.

Content and Level

This program could be equated with university level work on the grounds that a significant proportion of participants, at least one-third, had graduate or professional degrees. The participants would be the first to complain if they felt the content were not appropriate to their attainments and level of intellectual sophistication. Further, this can be checked against subjective reactions of faculty who joined discussion groups. From this quarter there were no complaints.

There is also a further observation which has been borne out and reinforced by comments from others. Participants are virtually compelled by the social setting of the discussion group to consider and think about the content in advance and at the meeting. This almost always ensures that some, after examining the material, checking their prejudices, find these attacked and modified in the group process.

Finally, the discussion materials represent a level of scholarly attainment in research and organization of data without the usual problems of scholarly language.

Participants

It would not be an exaggeration to say that Great Decisions has far exceeded expectations in terms of numbers, and that these thousands of people represent a different student group than would have been anticipated.

In terms of education, economic and social position it appears that at least 30% to 40% of the people involved are potential or actual community leaders. Or, put in other terms, they come from that strata of the community which is most concerned and from which opinion and community leaders are drawn. This will be of considerable use in the further development of educational programs in public responsibility because a large portion of the potential audience has now been identified.

New Cooperative Relationships

This program has proved to be unique in several respects and particularly in the manner in which the resources of the university from the president's office on down through the appropriate faculty members to the news service have all been brought into play in a complicated pattern of cooperative relations working towards a common goal. These new

relationships and a new understanding of the possible administrative patterns with other segments of the institution will prove valuable in the future. This program disclosed unsuspected capacities in the extension staff which had not been revealed by more traditional activities.

Outside the university much the same situation has pertained. Other institutions in the state responded to the president's personal invitation to join in the program. The value of this has been reflected in improved relations with some of the other colleges and a willingness to consider further cooperative programs.

The joint working arrangements with the Cooperative Extension Service at Colorado State University were harmonious and valuable. This is probably the first time since the Second World War when the two institutions have found common ground on a program venture, and promises to be one of the potentially most valuable developments of the experience with Great Decisions. The presidents of both Colorado State University and the University of Colorado indicated their awareness of this cooperation and its significance for other joint ventures.

The Extension Division has rarely had to complain about the support of the daily newspapers in Denver or the rest of the state, but this program did elicit a response and active support from newspapers which is unusual and rare. The same comment applies to radio and TV stations in the state.

Finally, through the nearly 200 cooperating organizations in the state which publicly lent their name to the program the division has cemented relationships already established, created new ones and generally broadened its own base of support by business and voluntary organizations, state, local, and federal agencies.

Maximum Use of Present Resources

Each university taking part has demonstrated that a concerted use of its total resources can reach far more people than was formerly thought possible. The notable feature of this demonstration was the skillful manner in which available resources were deployed to achieve the objective of broader world affairs education, rather than diverting additional funds from other worthwhile programs.

As a direct result of the program, considerable interest was aroused in adults for further world affairs education at this and a more intensive

level. This unsuspected interest has created problems because none of the institutions had formerly been geared to meet this type of demand, nor had they the physical resources to meet it immediately. It is now a question of planning a graded series of educational opportunities using each and every program device available.

Using the large reservoir of interested students, hitherto unsuspected, it will now be possible to plan lecture series, seminars and institutes, radio and TV programs as well as develop new correspondence study for individuals and groups so that the whole state may be provided with a more comprehensive world affairs program than in the past. These new programs are not expected to interest each and every participant in Great Decisions. On the other hand, this experience has uncovered a much broader base to the pyramid of public interest than had hitherto been suspected.

From an institutional standpoint, the program has fostered effective and useful cooperative relationships with voluntary organizations, mass media, and other educational institutions from the public schools to the junior colleges. These are particularly significant to the several educational institutions which compete for limited tax appropriations under the eagle eye of legislators whose constant cry is "cooperation, not competition."

There are several other important facts which become evident when evaluating a program of this type. Usually the major problem associated with discussion programs is the difficulty of forming discussion groups. Past experience indicates a large proportion of effort is required by the administrator in organizing groups.

A New Role for the Extension Administrator

To overcome this problem the promotional materials were designed to encourage the concerned or interested individuals to form his own discussion group from among his friends or neighbors. This has been effective both in terms of the number of groups formed and as the ultimate responsibility is removed from the administrator's shoulders. Specially designed promotional materials are also used to encourage a voluntary organization to make the program known to its members, who in turn are asked to set up their own groups outside the usual program. The success of this can be measured by the continued help and cooperation received

by chapters and units of more than 200 groups.

Because of this emphasis, the role of the extension administrator is perceived as that of coordinating and encouraging groups to use a program available from the university and supported by additional radio, television, and newspaper educational coverage.

In a decade when universities and foundations are both experimenting with new patterns of education for public responsibility, Great Decisions has proved to be an educational instrument which is immediately viable.

Summary and Conclusion

This article is based upon the assumption that world affairs education is a responsibility of the university and cites a number of recent reports to support this view. The real difficulty is the question of the extent of the university's commitment, and its translation into program by the extension division. There should be a person in each department of adult education who has overall responsibility for world affairs education, otherwise whatever is done by the institution will lack coherence and fail to provide an intelligently planned use of limited resources. Having made this much of a commitment it then becomes a question of determining objectives and the best way in which these can be achieved.

The burden of the article is that insofar as some universities have endeavored to provide world affairs education for adults, their major preoccupation has been quality rather than quantity. These two criteria are not mutually exclusive; they are the cornerstone of America's 20th century. Tyler says that in 1930 Land-Grant Extension was aware of the vital need to provide both for quality and quantity. In the pursuit of academic "lebensraum" university adult education has fastened upon excellence for the smallest minority of citizens losing sight of the fact that excellence is to be found at every level of educational activity.

There is some discussion of the expectations entertained by significant national leaders as to the role of extension in the area of world affairs education and the only conclusion one can draw from both the Ford and Carnegie reports is that they do not speak with an intimate knowledge of conditions or of possibilities, and therefore, adult education administrators must accept responsibility for determining their own policy and negotiating agreement and support from the university administra-

tion. An exercise in educational leadership might well solve some of adult education's current problems.

Having identified some of the landmarks, the article then proceeds to suggest another approach to world affairs education which may circumvent some of the roadblocks created by lack of money or faculty to provide the traditional but limited range of educational programs. The value of accepting the study discussion program has not been explored sufficiently: its availability at nominal cost, and its ability to reach the wide range of citizens found in every state.[11]

There follows an examination of the results achieved in Colorado by the use of a self-administering, discussion program. It provided a practical basis for coordination and cooperation between the several layers of adult education in Colorado—university, junior college, public schools, libraries and voluntary organizations. More than that it provided the first justification for both general and cooperative extension to join forces on a limited commitment.

There emerges from this experience of an extension service major possibilities which have yet to be thoroughly explored or developed. One is that the self-administered, educational program could be adapted to other subject matter, especially in the broader area of public affairs, because of its flexibility and its lack of dependence upon scarce teaching resources. It is also of inestimable value to those small groups of concerned citizens who cannot be fitted into the traditional extension pattern.

Finally, the self-administered, discussion program demonstrated to some extension workers that the change in their role from a face-to-face, one-to-one relationship to that of an administrator of an education program was not such a threatening situation after all.

The future of adult education and the relationship of extension to the total growth is one in which, though the universities have no monopoly, they cannot neglect providing leadership in new methods, new techniques, the development of new theory, and knowledge and practice in relation to the whole field of endeavor.

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11. Ralph W. Tyler, An Evaluation of General Extension Work by Land-Grant Institutions, a paper presented before the Centennial Convocation of the American Association of Land-Grant Colleges and State Universities, November 14, 1961, at Kansas City, Missouri (Washington: American Association, 1961), p. 10.

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